

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 USIA-15 DRC-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1875

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L M M S C O W 10872

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, JA

SUBJ: TANAKA VISIT TO SOVIET UNION

1. SUMMARY: DURING A CALL ON ME SEPTEMBER 10, JAPANESE MINISTER HASEGAWA INDICATED THAT A NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS WERE UNDER STUDY FOR SIGNATURE DURING THE TANAKA VISIT. THE JAPANESE SIDE PLANS TO GIVE PRIORITY TO DISCUSSIONS RELATING TO THE RECOVERY OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY. HASEGAWA INDICATED THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD NOT SUPPORT ANY PROPOSALS FOR PARTICIPATION IN AN ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT IN THE ABSENCE OF A PEACE TREATY AND IN THE ABSENCE OF CHINESE AND AMERICAN AGREEMENT TO SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT. END SUMMARY

2. GENERAL: HASEGAWA SAID THAT THE JAPANESE WERE APPROACHING THE TANAKA VISIT, WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE OCTOBER 7-10, WITH SOME DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE THAT JAPAN IS IN A RELATIVELY GOOD BARGAINING POSITION. THE US-JAPANESE SECURITY TREATY, COMBINED WITH JAPAN'S ECONOMIC POWER, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS FEELING OF RELATIVE CONFIDENCE.

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3. AGREEMENTS: THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO HASEGAWA, NOW HAD UNDER STUDY AGREEMENTS ON ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, CULTURAL EXCHANGES, AND MARITIME AFFAIRS WHICH MIGHT BE SIGNED AT THE SUMMIT. IN ADDITION, THERE WAS ALSO AN AGREEMENT ON MIGRATORY BIRDS WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN INITIALED AND WHICH WOULD BE READY FOR SIGNATURE AT THE SUMMIT.

4. JAPANESE PRIORITY ITEMS : HASEGAWA INDICATED THAT TANAKA WOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO DISCUSSIONS RELATING TO THE RECOVERY OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE USSR. HE NOTED THAT THE JAPANESE EMBASSY HAD RECENTLY RECEIVED SIGNALS FROM SOVIET JOURNALISTS SOUNDING A RATHER PESSIMISTIC NOTE WITH RESPECT TO ANY MOVEMENT ON THESE TWO FRONTS. IF THE SOVIETS ARE UNPREPARED TO MOVE, HASEGAWA SAID, THE JAPANESE WILL WAIT. DISCUSSION ON THESE TWO SUBJECTS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL WILL, FROM THE JAPANESE POINT OF VIEW, AT LEAST REPRESENT SOME PROGRESS OVER THE PAST. IN ANY CASE, HASEGAWA SAID THAT NO PEACE TREATY IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT A SOLUTION OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES PROBLEM.

5. ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY: HASEGAWA IN REPLY TO MY QUERY, HASEGAWA SAID THAT THE JAPANESE EXPECTED THE SOVIETS TO RAISE THIS SUBJECT. THE JAPANESE POSITION HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE CLEAR THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTRY COMMENTS THAT JAPAN COULD NOT SUPPORT SUCH A PROPOSAL IN THE ABSENCE OF A PEACE TREATY WITH THE USSR AND WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE US AND CHINA IN SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT.

6. GENERAL SECURITY: HASEGAWA SAID THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF A BALANCE OF POWER IN THE FAR EAST IS VERY IMPORTANT TO JAPAN. THIS BALANCE COULD ONLY BE MAINTAINED THROUGH A CONTINUED US PRESENCE IN THE FAR EAST. HE WAS CERTAIN THAT THE SOVIETS LOOK FORWARD TO A DIMINUTION OF THE US PRESENCE IN THE FAR EAST. IN MOSCOW'S VIEW, SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO INCREASED SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE AREA.

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